

PUSH TRUST BILLS

SEVERAL MEASURES TO BE
BUNCHED IN ONE TO EXPE-
DITE MATTERS.

VERBAL TRIMMING IS NEEDED

All Administration Bills Prepared, but
Must Be Revised to Clarify Mean-
ing Before Given into the
Hands of Congress.

By GEORGE CLINTON.

Washington—Thus far only two of the anti-trust measures proposed by the present administration have been submitted for debate to congress, the interstate trade commission and the holding company bills.

All the anti-trust measures have been prepared, but it seems that radical changes probably will be made in all of them before they are passed. They are called administration measures. In a sense they were, but Mr. Wilson approved of them only in a general way, his desire being to incite discussion and to invite from the country suggestions for changes which might be of benefit.

Democratic leaders of the two houses today are planning to expedite committee consideration of the anti-trust bills so that they can be taken up and pushed to a passage the instant that the tolls repeal measure is out of the way. While there have been indications of Republican support for the interstate trade commission bill, there are few like symptoms that the other anti-trust measures will meet with the favor of the opposition. The majority leaders, fearing stubborn resistance and delayed action, want to get into the fight quickly so that the end, which means adjournment, will not be long delayed.

When Mr. Wilson gave his approval to the bills as originally framed, he understood thoroughly that they would be subject to amendment while on their way to passage through the two houses of congress. Already it is said he knows that the interstate trade commission bill probably will be altered in one or two particulars, and that having made a study of the proposed changes, he is inclined to believe that they will strengthen the resulting law.

Will Be Changed Materially.
The holding company bill will be changed probably materially before passage. The trade commission measure underwent a transformation while it was in the hands of the interstate commerce committee. The changes brought support to the measure from the Republicans and from a few Progressives.

The bills relating to the control of stock and bond issues, interlocking directorates, Sherman law definitions and trade relations are yet to be given into the keeping of congress. In their desire to hasten the hour of passage the Democratic leaders may ask that all of these measures be combined in one legislative act. It is urged that if this is done at least three weeks' time can be saved.

It is probable that if President Wilson had not been engaged so constantly with anxieties over Mexico and over the canal tolls repeal matter, the anti-trust bills would be by this time well on their way through congress. Mr. Wilson has been the moving power in all legislation which the Democrats have enacted thus far, and the delay of the trust bills has been due unquestionably to the unwillingness of the Democratic legislators to move without feeling the compelling power of the president's hand. They do not wish, apparently, to go ahead on their own account.

In the days to come whether trust legislation seems to deserve praise or blame the president will be given the one or the other.

To Clarify the Meaning.

One of the criticisms made of the anti-trust bills in their present form, although an exception is made in the case of the trades commission measure, is that they are verbose and contain sentences open to more than one construction. The effort of the administration now is to simplify all of the bills and to clarify their meaning.

It is said that the president is in favor of combining most of the anti-trust legislative proposals in one bill. He thinks this will make for time-saving and that it will simplify procedure. The Democrats believe that their chief glory of achievement is to come from the passage of anti-trust legislation. It is their hope to get it through without serious party antagonisms. They do not want to be under the necessity of resorting to a caucus to force any one of the bills through as a party measure. They think there is good campaign material in each one of the five measures. Their desire to finish up trust legislation in order to make it serviceable in the campaign may tend to shorten debate on the tolls repeal bill which is now before the senate for "fighting consideration."

Toll Debate Is Bitter.

The whole subject of the repeal of the toll exemption clause of the canal act is loaded with bitterness. Democrats, Republicans and Progressives have been divided in opinion as to the wisdom of doing away with the clause of the law which allowed American coastwise sailing ships to pass free of tolls through the Panama canal. The fight in the senate and house has been worth seeing, for during the debates on the floor and in the discussions in the cloakroom and corridor men who hold

themselves good Americans have been charged with a desire to cringe before the thrones of Europe and to hold that whatever the foreigner wants the American should yield.

Of course the charge of lack of Americanism is ridiculous on its face, but the bitterness that has come into this repeal matter has been such that ordinarily well poised men lost their courtesy and let their tempers get the better of them. President Wilson in his message to congress told the members that in his opinion the law exempting the American coasters from tolls was a direct violation of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain and he virtually said that this country could not afford to be charged with a breach of faith.

Caused Some Bitterness.
It is rather a hard thing to say perhaps, but seemingly it was a pleasant day for the senators and house members who were opposed to the repeal in this matter when Walter H. Page, our ambassador to Great Britain, accepted an invitation to speak before the members of the chamber of commerce of London. Mr. Page, of course it will be remembered, was reported to have said things which gave the friends of toll exemption a chance to say that he was un-American and that this country was kowtowing to Great Britain. Mr. Page made his explanations and the president accepted his word that nothing that he said was out of the way nor counter to the continuance of complete international amity. A good many members of congress, however, refused to accept Mr. Page's explanation and the bitterness of the repeal fight has continued.

Liquor Question Big Issue.
Senator Sheppard of Texas says: "The two nation-wide issues of overshadowing interest are federal prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor and woman suffrage. People may try to minimize the importance of these two questions, but they are here and they are going to stay here until answered one way or the other."

There are resolutions for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to forbid the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors now under consideration in the judiciary committee of the senate and the house. If the resolutions ever are reported into open house and senate so that senators and representatives must go on record, it is predicted that they would get at least a majority of the votes, although, of course, a two-thirds majority is necessary to submit to the states the proposed amendment to the great document. If congress should adopt the resolution then the question of drink or no drink would be put up squarely to the states of the Union.

It has become evident from the writing of recent editorials in the journals devoted to the interests of liquor making and liquor selling that a change has come recently in the tone, manner and method of pronouncements of the editors. It would seem that the makers and sellers of intoxicating drinks think today that the prohibition cause has been strengthened considerably within the last ten years.

Cut Loose From Past Methods.

The representatives of the liquor interests today are asking the manufacturers and dealers to cut loose from the methods of the past, when their own organs declare they were in the habit of seeking support from political elements in a community which in a way were generally considered to be antagonistic to plans for general reform. Today the representatives of the liquor dealers take the position that their business is a legitimate one, and that it must be treated as such or legitimate business interests.

As things are, however, it seems to the Washington senators and representatives that the prohibition cause is making progress all over the country, and that sooner or later the congress of the United States in "open house" must meet the question of whether or not to submit an amendment declaring liquor selling illegal. Some years ago nearly all the senators and representatives could have voted against a resolution seeking a prohibition amendment without running any risks of defeat in their states and districts. A good many representatives today, of course, can vote against such a resolution without fear of losing votes because in their districts the majority opinion probably is in favor of allowing the liquor traffic to continue.

A vote against a constitutional amendment today, however, probably would be fatal in a political sense to a majority of the men in the lower house of congress. This may explain why it is that it is so hard for the friends of a prohibition amendment to induce the committees to report the resolution to the two houses.

Naturally enough, the doctrine of states rights is being used as an obstruction to the consideration of the prohibition amendment. It possibly may be interesting to note, however, that the sponsors for the present prohibition resolution are two men of the south, Senator Sheppard of Texas and Representative Hobson of Alabama, who come from a country where the states rights tree grows sturdy.

A reading of the petitions in behalf of prohibition tend to show that a good many American citizens believe that the proposed constitutional amendment, as in the case of the income tax amendment, simply would authorize congress to pass a prohibition law. This is not true. The resolution of itself, if it is passed by congress and then ratified by the requisite number of states, will give the country prohibition at once.

Making Tomorrow's World

By WALTER WILLIAMS, LL.D.
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HAS ENGLAND FAILED IN INDIA?



Delhi, India.—British rule in India is suffering the evil results of its own virtues. It has taught Indians to stand alone and some of them, superficially educated usually, wish to try the experiment without assistance. Indian unrest and its attendant tragedies are the result of the British citizen of the United States, looking at the working out of the colonial problem by old hands at the business, sees constantly in the background the Philippine islands, with amateurs molding the scheme of things. But the Philippine problem is "another story," to quote Kipling, the masterful poet-journalist, who came out of India, trailing jingoism. Let's stick to the Indian text.

Beginning as a purely commercial enterprise, with no other object than to make money for British traders, often more aggressive than scrupulous, the government of India by the British has as its chief concern the making of men. That's a big job anywhere, but it is particularly large when the territory is a continent, as is India, and not a single country, and the inhabitants are one-fifth of the entire human race.

The problem is not lessened by the ignorance, poverty and superstition of the alien and diverse peoples who constitute the inhabitants. The good fruits of British rule are many, but they cannot be seen from the car window nor their importance gauged by the tourist flitting from hotel to hotel.

Not Governed by Bayonets.
British rule in India is not military rule. Bayonets may establish, but they cannot maintain government. British rule in India is government by the civil power. Less than 75,000 white soldiers are stationed in this empire of more than 300,000,000 people. The United States have a larger standing army for less than one-third that number of inhabitants—three times the soldiery for the American republic as compared with the Indian empire. True, military rule was un-

derstandable at the time of the controversy between Lord Curzon, the viceroy, and Lord Kitchener, the commander-in-chief, when the latter asked of England—and was given—a "free hand" in administration. The "free hand," when inquired into, is usually found to mean a complete abandonment of all checks and safeguards which long experience has devised. When these are set aside at the behest or in behalf of the exceptional man, trouble follows. And so it was in India. It is sham imperialism, not a real one, that puts the army and navy ahead of justice and liberty, of civil rule.



Hindus Bathing in the Ganges.

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200,000,000 Dependent on Agriculture.
India is not governed by bayonets, neither is it an empire of camps and cities. The city is of secondary importance in this land. We hear more of Calcutta and Bombay and Madras and the new-old capital of Delhi, but the real India is a village. In all India there are only 27 cities with a population exceeding 100,000, and only

five whose inhabitants exceed a quarter of a million. There are more than 200,000,000 people in India directly dependent—not merely indirectly—upon agriculture. The Indian farmer—the "ryot at the plow"—is the dominant figure in any picture of Indian life which has true perspective. The land problem is at the very heart of things. The final test of British rule is how it has helped the dweller on the land.

Taxation Equitably Adjusted.
Judged by this test, the measure of success is not small. The land tax has been changed into an approximation of fairness and reasonable justice, left unassessed or uncollected altogether in times of famine, from which, by failure of the monsoon, the wind bringing rain, certain Indian provinces often suffer. When the British came the tax-gatherer was king, all southern India was in his merciless grip, and in northern India the farm laborer, though he made a fortress of his village and followed the plow sword in hand, was the constant victim of spoliation. The first attempts at land revenue adjustment which the British made were disastrous failures. Gradually, however, schemes of taxation have been evolved and problems of land ownership have been settled that are placing rural India, as far as these questions are concerned, in the same condition as the countries of Europe where such questions have been more equitably and longer settled.

Close akin to the problem of the taxation of land is the question of rural credits. The British found the Indian peasant in the hands of the usurious moneylender. The grip of this creature, who has all countries for his own, has not been entirely shaken off. It has been loosened, however. The establishment of co-operative credit societies has done much for the rural laborer. The objection that Indians lack the necessary spirit of co-operation has been shown to be without foundation. In seven years 3,456 societies have been established, with a membership of 226,558 persons and with a working capital of \$3,430,000, of which the state contributed only \$230,000, the rest being furnished by the people themselves.

The Famine Evil Minimized.
India has always been subject, in part, to famines, which is the eastern word for partial or total crop failure. These famines are caused by what an old writer quaintly called "the intemperateness of the weather." British rule has not been able to cure this

built or fostered by the state, have lessened famine areas, decreased the death rate, added to the tillable territory and reduced human suffering to a large degree.

Good Government Established.

It is impossible, within the limits of this article, even to sketch all the achievements or the failures of British rule in India. One can do little more than suggest how, in the far East, a great nation, destined to play a large part in tomorrow's world, as part of the mighty British empire or alone, is being made. Probably the greatest contribution to India by the British has been the establishment of civil rule that means absolute justice between man and man. There are exceptions, of course, lamentable and numerous, but on the whole the British administrator has brought equality before the law, inflexible though stern justice, and unswerving honesty to a land where before he came might alone made right and the biggest bribe won every case. This result has been brought about, in large measure, by men of the Indian civil service, working almost alone, in obscure villages. In one district, with a territory the size of France and a population of 700,000 Indians, one white man, Hubert Calvert, brother of Dr. Sidney Calvert of the University of Missouri, is administrator. This is but a single example. The British have done their good work in India not by force of numbers nor by rule of bayonet any more than by the music of the kettle drum.

Schools in Reach of Majority.

In the work done in education the British in India have made many mistakes. Some of these mistakes have been rectified by a newer educational policy. Others will be rectified. The immense difficulties in education, in a land where primary education is not wanted by the masses and higher education of a superficial kind is often sought merely as a means to escape hard work, have prevented progress that would otherwise be possible. Religious antagonisms, of an intensity which the western mind can scarcely comprehend, have compelled the government to make its education exclusively secular. Even moral training, without which any system of education is lame, is hardly permitted. When all this—and much else—has been written in criticism, the large fact remains that British education is transforming India. Primary education is not everywhere free nor is it compulsory. The fees, however, are so small as to be no bar and schools are in reach of a majority of the entire population. Colleges, technical schools and universities are doing better work than under the old methods. The new generation of educated Indians will be more efficient, more thoroughly prepared for serious labor, and no less keen of intellect and clever of speech than the older generation.

Natives Represented in Government.

Indian representation in the legislative councils and municipal governments has been gradually increased. It is now sufficiently large to permit every section of the diverse and discordant population to have a voice. This Indian voice does not, as yet, directly determine the policies of government, but it is free to discuss these policies, to question them and to bring them to the bar of public opinion. In consequence, British rule has become more responsive to native sentiment. The British government, always an arbiter and promoter of peace between warring factions, has, by the new liberal policy of larger native representation in official place, become also in some measure an interpreter of the native opinion and an administrator of its desire. This is not self-government, of course—indeed, it is a long distance from it—but it is a step in that direction. Because of this forward step and from the ranks of the educated but unemployed natives has come much of the turbulence among the native population which seems at times to threaten British supremacy in India. Imbued with liberalism in the universities and with no other serious work that appealed to them, given representation in all branches of government, the natives—or rather, a few of the more advanced—are leaders in a movement of "India for the Indians." That British rule is seriously threatened by this unrest, widespread though it may be, is doubtful. That British rule will change, is changing, to meet the awakening spirit of democracy in the empire of India, is certain.

Some Surface Evils.

The evils of British rule are on the surface: exploitation, absentee government, the hill station where officialdom retires from contact with the people, a press law which Surendranath Banerjee, "the uncrowned king of Bengal," says is possible only because of the good character of the administrators; too much whisky and soda and too little helpful, personal intercourse with the natives; a certain imperiousness which apparently looks down on all things non-British. It is chasing flyspecks to discuss these and other smaller evils. The American looks with disapproval, but he remembers his own treatment of the negro in the South and the false impression given of that treatment in Uncle Tom's Cabin and other works of fiction, and he forbears criticism.

With all its defects and its evils, of maladministration, of greed and jingoism, the work of the British in India—to quote a sentence from Lord Curzon, ablest of modern viceroys, "is righteous and will endure." The unrest, annoying, even agonizing at times, is but the "growing pains" which presage a freer, greater India in tomorrow's world.

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Canal Comment.

"Charley, dear," said young Mrs. Torkins, "they are having a great deal of agitation about the big canal, aren't they?"

"Yes."

"Don't you know, I sometimes think it might have been better if we had been content with the old-fashioned canals where all the talking was done by the man who was driving the mule!"

He Understood.

"And observe that we never let him play except in the minor."

"I understand; he is so young!"—

Le Rire.

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